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in the Age of Rudolf II

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Studia Rudolphina
Research Center for Visual Arts and Culture in the Age of Rudolf II

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The Center launched its activities in January 2000, as a part of the Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences in Prague. It fosters and carries out research projects focused on art and culture in the age of Rudolf II (with occasional overlaps reaching from ca. 1520 to ca. 1620), and accordingly to this mission, it organizes lectures on Rudolfine topics, keeps a specialized library and collects pertinent visual and verbal documentation. Once a year, the Center publishes the *Studia Rudolphina* bulletin. Orders for back issues should be sent to the bellow address.

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6. *Kaufmann*, pp. 251 and 261, nos. 20.6 and 20.37; *Prag um 1600*, pp. 275–277, nos. 154 and 155; Sally Metzler, *Bartholomeus Spranger: Splendor and Eroticism in Imperial Prague*, exh. cat. (New Haven and London, 2014), pp. 98–99 and 112–113, nos. 28 and 43.

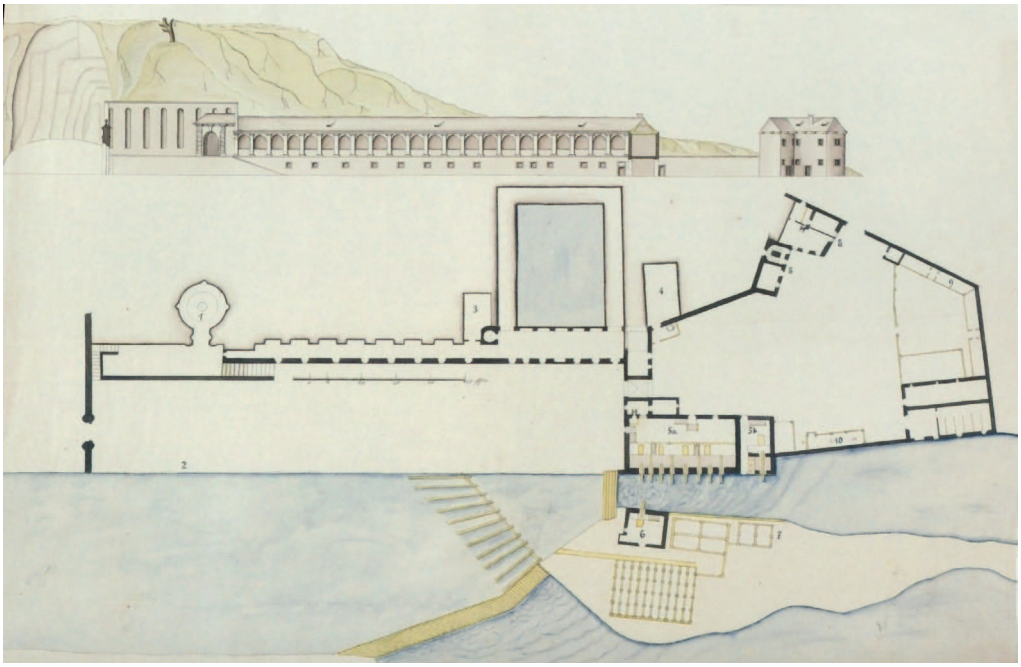
7. L. O. Larsson, Ernst, Humor und Utopie in den mythologischen Darstellungen der Malerei am Hofe Rudolfs II., in *Hans von Aachen in Context: Proceedings of the International Conference, Prague 22–25 September 2010*, ed. by Lubomír Konečný and Štěpán Vácha, with Beket Bukovinská, assisted by Markéta Ježková and Eliška Zlatohlávková (Prague, 2012), pp. 63–71 (67).

8. Ibidem, p. 69; also idem, *Antike Mythen in der Kunst: 100 Meisterwerke* (Stuttgart, 2009), pp. 98–99.

Rudolf II's Grotto and Francesco I de' Medici's Pratolino: New Observations

Lily Filson

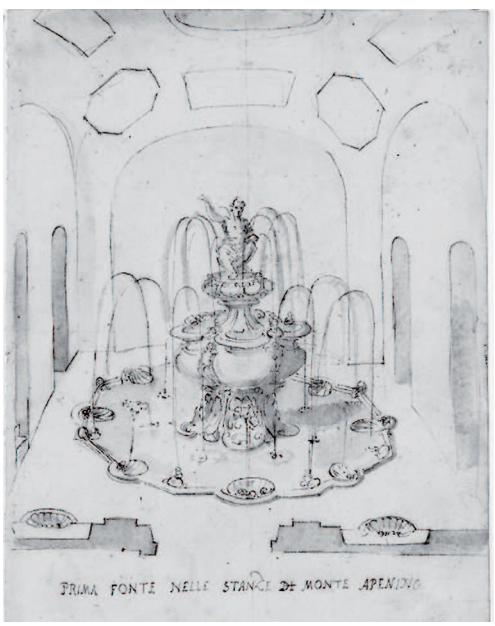
Among Rudolfine art and architecture in late-Renaissance Prague, a single grotto reserved for the emperor remains one of its most mysterious and unresolved questions. This grotto was originally part of a larger complex with a pre-existing mill, a long corridor with arcades, a building with a fireplace, and a fish pond; it is about two kilometers away from Prague Castle in Bubeneč, at the edge of the Old Game Reserve (*Alte Thiergarten*). This recently reconstructed site commissioned by Rudolf II and finished posthumously by his brother and successor Matthias II has recently been the subject of a 2009 study by Sylva Dobalová that brings examples of garden grottoes in Italian Renaissance villas,[1] specifically the Grotta dei Tartari of the Palazzo Farnese in Caprarola[2] and the Grotta delle Mose in the Boboli Gardens of the Palazzo Pitti. Dobalová points out eighteenth-century plans of the Rudolfine grotto (Fig. 1) that present two concentric circles, and she compares this arrangement to a fountain at the Medici Villa Pratolino with similar concentric basins, the Fountain of Thetis. With this study, I counter that the same villa outside of Florence very likely furnished an inspiration if not the model for Rudolf's grotto. The Grotto of Cupid, constructed ca. 1577 by Bernardo Buontalenti for Francesco I de' Medici, presents undeniable formal similarities in its plan and architecture. Happily and unusually, these similarities can still be observed at either site today, as both structures have endured intact and relatively unchanged from their



1. Plan and perspective of the Imperial Mill with a grotto in Bubeneč, 1730 (Prague, Archiv Pražského hradu)

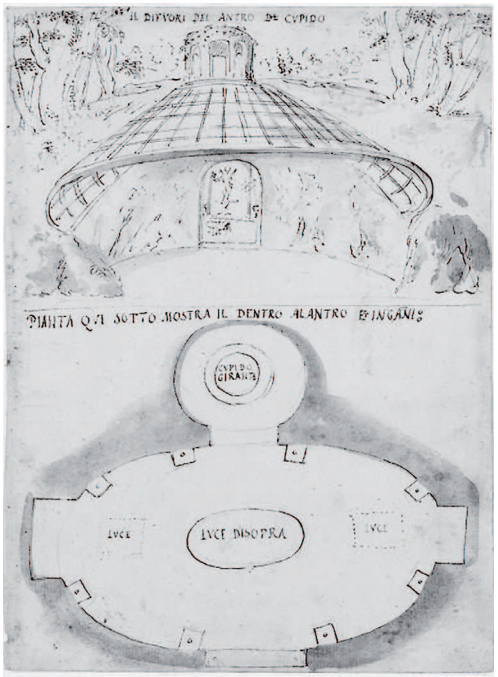
original design. Additionally, the relationship between the Prague and Florentine courts, the similar personalities of its rulers Rudolf II and Francesco I de' Medici, and the genius loci of the Bubeneč site support the possibility of a Buontalentian model in Prague at the close of the sixteenth century.[3]

While an identification of the Fountain of Thetis and its circular basin underneath is certainly valuable for understanding how the Rudolfine grotto's interior may have appeared, I disagree with Dobalová's identification of the Thetis Fountain's ceiling opening for light, as seen in a ca. 1600 untitled drawing of the Fountain of Thetis by Giovanni Guerra (Fig. 2). The fountain that is the subject of this drawing has been given this identification from its resemblance to historical descriptions as well as to another known depiction, a 1585 commemorative gold and amethyst plaque of its artist, Giambologna, presenting it to Francesco I de' Medici;[4] Giambologna was



2. Giovanni Guerra, Fountain of Thetis in Pratolino (Vienna, Albertina)

3. Giovanni Guerra, Interior View of the Grotto of Cupid in Pratolino (Vienna, Albertina)



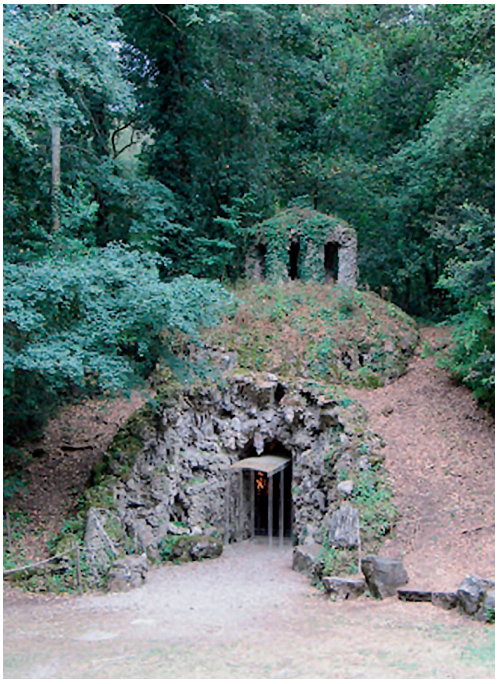
4. Giovanni Guerra, Plan and Perspective of the Grotto of Cupid (Vienna, Albertina)

also responsible for the ca. 1580 Appennine colossus at Pratolino, which housed the Fountain of Thetis and featured grottoes on two levels in the giant's "belly." As the writing accompanying Guerra's drawing makes clear, this fountain was installed in the Appenine's first room; the same fountain is also described in detail and placed in the main room of the first floor of the structure by the sixteenth-century chronicler Francesco de' Vieri.[5] From what we know about the original appearance of the Appennine's interior grottoes before the late seventeenth-century interventions of the architect Giovan Battista Foggini,[6] it's an architectural impossibility that the Guerra drawing depicts apertures in the ceiling for natural light; instead, they're more probably the artist's short-hand for quadrangular, possibly pictorial lunettes of the kind that grace the ceiling of Francesco I's studiolo in Florence.[7] A hypothecical cross-section of the Appennine colossus supports this hypothesis.[8]

However, two drawings in the same series by Guerra do illustrate and describe the natural-lighting convention. Guerra's interior perspective of the Grotto of Cupid at Pratolino shows natural light from the central lantern and two side apertures, and his plan of the structure labels the side openings simply "LUCE" and the central one "LUCE DI SOPRA." (Figs. 3, 4) Additionally, the Guerra floorplan presents a similar aspect to the one seen in the eighteenth-century plan of the Bubeneč grotto; both share a round plan with three niches on the sides and back,[9] but in the Grotto of Cupid, the rear "niche" is more of a vestibule to house the rotating cupid statue that gave the grotto its name.

Another view of Pratolino's Grotto of Cupid underlines its similarities with Rudolf II's grotto at Bubeneč. Heinrich Schickhardt's drawing and plan post-date Guerra's only

5. Prague, Bubeneč Grotto, Portal



6. Pratolino, Grotto of Cupid

slightly, and this page displays a tumulus-like structure with a cut-away entrance reminiscent of the *dromos* of the ancient Greek *tholos*-type tomb.[10] Whereas the Grotto of Cupid's mound and rustic entrance recalled these antique examples, the appearance of the masonry work inside of the dome of Rudolf II's Prague grotto has been also conjured associations with the stone-work of the "beehive" *tholoi* of Mycenae. However, it bears underlining that the mutual association with the tholos-type tombs that the Prague and Pratolino grottoes share is restricted to diverse elements of their construction, and differences do exist when these elements are compared side-by-side. First, the cut-away entrance to the Pratolino grotto-mound is a rustic affair, whereas Rudolf II's grotto boasts a monumental portal in conforming to the architectural dictates of Sebastiano Serlio and is not at all reminiscent of the *dromos* of Greek tombs (Figs. 5, 6). Secondly, the dome of the Pratolino grotto is covered in pseudo-natural stalactites, like many Italian Renaissance grottoes, and does not share the regular lines of masonry that define the dome of the Prague grotto. Both grottoes, however, do share a central, circular opening for light capped by a lantern; however, the Grotto of Cupid's plans indicate that two additional, adjacent apertures without lantern were cut as well. No other openings are present in the Prague grotto's dome.

Otherwise, there is no definitive documentary link between Rudolf II's grotto at Bubeneč and Buontalenti's Grotto of Cupid constructed for Francesco I de' Medici in the Villa Pratolino's vast park. However, when we consider the socio-political context of the imperial grotto's construction, several factors support a direct Florence-Prague connection.

Within the context of Italian influences upon Renaissance Bohemian architecture,[11]

specifically Tuscan or Florentine forms[12] have been observed to be far out of proportion to the single Tuscan architect active in sixteenth-century Prague,[13] who also is credited with Rudolf II's grotto. There are significant gaps in what is known about Giovanni Gargiolli's life and works at the court of Rudolf II, but even the skeletal details of his career suggest a constant contact with the Medici in Florence. In the year following the Bohemian Council's acquisition of the Bubeneč land and its small mill in 1584, Gargiolli- or Johannes Florentin as he appears in archival sources- was recruited to work for the Holy Roman Emperor in Prague. A letter written by Gargiolli on January 1 1585 suggests that this appointment owed to his friendship with the Medici ambassador and the tacit approval of Grand Duke Francesco I.[14] Gargiolli's formal contract began on June 1 1586, and it provided a monthly salary of forty florins for the vaguely-worded obligation of providing models of buildings; in that same year, Rudolf sent his newly-contracted hire back to Italy, presumably Florence, to show his models to eminent architects there.[15] From Gargiolli's return to Prague until his departure in 1594, large building projects were undertaken that eclipsed the largely decorative work of Rudolf's predecessors. Eliška Fučíková has assigned Gargiolli the lead role in their direction.[16]

It is not only the fact that a Florentine served as the court architect to Rudolf II during this time, nor the evidence that he returned at least once to Italy to confer with architects there that supports the possibility of a Pratoline source for the Prague grotto; in addition to Rudolf II's grotto, other imperial construction projects during Gargiolli's tenure at Prague indicate a close contact with the Medici in Florence and specifically with the architect Bernardo Buontalenti, who realized, among a panoply of other works, the Grotto of Cupid and Pratolino's other grottoes, its villa, and most of its other features.

A relationship between the Holy Roman Emperor and Buontalenti existed even before Gargiolli arrived; almost ten years prior to Gargiolli's employment, Rudolf II conferred an imperial privilege upon Bernardo Buontalenti in November 1578 in recognition of the hydraulic engineering achievements at Pratolino.[17] In the same year, the Medici court reciprocated by sending the engineer Antonio Lupicini to Vienna and Prague.[18] It appears that the emperor's admiration continued unabated through 1587, when Gargiolli wrote in a July 27 letter that Rudolf "shows a great appreciation for everything that comes from the hand and ingenuity of Francesco I."[19]

It's been observed that archival sources do not necessarily make clear just how much of the works carried out during Gargiolli's eight-year tenure in Prague are the labors of Gargiolli personally and how much can be credited to collaborators near and far. Gargiolli's presumed involvement in Rudolf II's additions to the garden at the castle of Brandeis on the Elba has been most recently explored in a 2010 article by Sylva Dobalová;[20] Gargiolli's presence at Brandeis can not be confirmed by documentary sources, but the castle's garden was arranged during the same time period in which he was active in Prague. The surviving fountains today on the site credited to the sculptor Giovanni Antonio Brocco, who is also documented as having received payment for work on Rudolf II's grotto as well.[21] Guido Carrai put forward the hypothesis that Gargiolli acted more as a proxy than a master designer in his own right, pinpointing Gargiolli as the intermediary between Rudolf II and Bernardo Buontalenti. Carrai made this argument on the identification of a design for an oval staircase for Prague Castle in the Florentine archives and a letter dated June 11 1587 from Buontalenti to Rudolf II mentioning, presumably, the same designs for a castle staircase.[22]

In spite of the tenuous demonstrable links between Gargiolli and Buontalenti, their

periods of activity coincided roughly with a period in which several scholars used the word "intense" to characterize the relationship between Francesco I's court in Florence and Rudolf II's Prague.[23] The two rulers' connection transcended their ties of blood and marriage; it's an infrequently observed fact that Francesco I was Rudolf II's uncle through his marriage to Joanna of Austria, the sister of Rudolf's father Maximilian II. In the fresco cycle decorating the courtyard of the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence, Prague appears among the cities depicted in honor of their union.[24] Additionally, the Italian historian Costanza Riva identified the aviary that Francesco I built at the Villa Pratolino as inspired by Maximilian II's aviary at Katterburg castle estate near Vienna (later there was built baroque Schönbrunn Palace) that the young duke had seen during his travels in Austria.[25] Decades later, the 1590's in particular were a time of heightened contact when Francesco I's daughter was a proposed bride of Rudolf II. Although Francesco I himself died just two years after Gargiolli came to Prague, the works carried out by Rudolf II at the turn of the seventeenth century perhaps can be read as a preservation, of sorts, of his style and memory.[26]

As individuals and as rulers, Francesco I and Rudolf II shared a similar upbringing and personality type. Both men had spent formative portions of their youth at the court of Philip II in Spain; Buontalenti even accompanied Francesco I.[27] Later in life, both rulers showed a preference for Spanish dress and manners, often to the consternation of their native courts which perceived them as cold, haughty, and aloof. More objective accounts however describe Francesco I and Rudolf II as introverted, melancholic men of few words but of deep contemplative capacities.

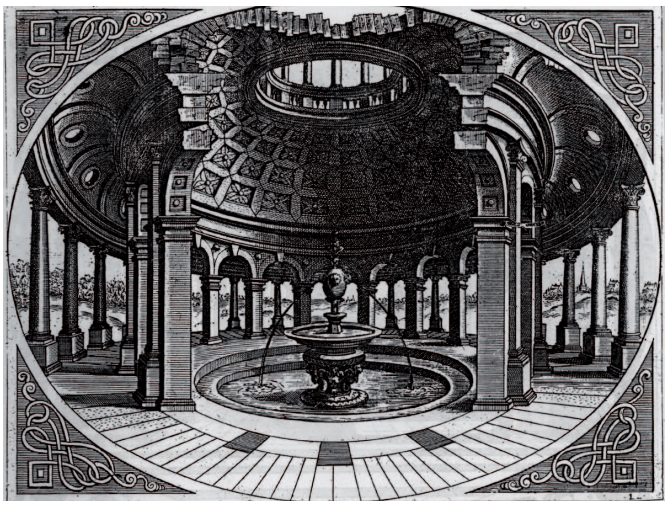
Beyond molding their parallel demeanors, scholars have also noted the Spanish sojourns' effect upon their later architectural commissions. Pablo J. Díaz observed that Rudolf II encountered Classicism from Italy as well as engineering works that totally subjugated Nature to man's will in Spain as Philip II's ward; fields, forests, and rivers were transformed into an idealized vision.[28] In the fields of terraforming and hydraulic engineering, large technical projects were realized at Francesco I de' Medici's Pratolino, which transformed the simple countryside into elaborately-maintained parks, grottoes, "mountains," small lakes, and extensive water games. Rudolf II undertook equally monumental works in the beginning of his reign in Prague that introduced sophisticated hydraulic technologies to Prague. At the castle, these included the plan for water games for a *giardino pensile*,[29] which was not realized, and an innovative valveless pump for an unknown fountain designed by the clockmaker Jost Bürgi.[30] In the nearby *Alte Thiergarten,* a more radical vision took shape; the "Rudolf Water Tunnel" (*Rodolf-Stolle*) was excavated for one kilometer underground, bringing water from the Vltava River to an artificial lake created at the same time. Its endurance through the present day in relatively pristine condition is a testament to the skill and expertise of its builders.[31]

Rudolph's grotto at the Imperial Mill probably also featured hydraulic works as well; running water has been identified as one of its most significant features.[32] We assume from the mention of an eighteenth-century plan that a circular fountain or reservoir originally occupied the center of the grotto, and Muchka' placed its installation around 1604.[33] Alternately designated as *brunnen und wasserwerch* or *wasserkunst zur krota,*[34] it's clear that advanced hydraulic engineering was employed at the grotto site.[35]

Large-scale terraforming also came into play in the *Alte Thiergarten*, as at Pratolino and in emulation of projects undertaken by Philip II. Díaz locates Rudolf II's inspiration for large-scale engineering commissions in the works of Philip II's court architects Juan Batista de Toledo and Francesco Paciotto, which the

young Rudolf would have been exposed to in Spain.[36] Pratolino may have also been a more recent model for the emperor to emulate as well- particularly in consideration of the imperial recognition already bestowed upon Buontalenti for his work in the same field.

The transformation of nature was a central theme of Rudolf II's personal mythos. The portrait of the emperor as Vertumnus, Lord Rudolfine imperial identity was inextricably linked to a noted occultism, fascination with the wondrous and scientific patronage, which were all characteristics Francesco I shared as well.[39] Roy Strong recognized Rudolfine Prague and Medicean Florence as parallel phenomena that kept court artists busy with the continuous expression of their rulers' knowledge of occult science and mystical epiphanies.[40]



7. Hans Vredeman de Vries, Variae Architecturae Formae (publ. before 1601)

of Nature by Giuseppe Arcimboldo is one of the most well-known images from the time period; its accompanying poem by Gregorio Comanini hails the emperor as god of metamorphoses in nature and in human life.[37] Thusly, the portfolio of hydraulic engineering and terraforming works, including the Bubeneč grotto, were more than displays of technical prowess or even man's mastery in the world; they were declarations of Rudolf II's privileged personal relationship to nature and the cosmos. To varying extents, Habsburg rulers considered their Holy Roman sovereignty to be divine and elevated above mere kingship, but no other ruler constructed a more magical, occultist mythos than Rudolf.[38] This aspect of the

Beyond the scale of their works, a more substantial link between the Rudolf II's grotto and mill and the Medici court can be read in the products that it was destined to manufacture. The simple *brett und schleifmühle* purchased by the Bohemian Council Chamber in 1584 underwent an expansion under Rudolf II through the 1600's to include state-of-the-art cutting and polishing equipment for stones and glass. Although these stones were one of Bohemia's richest natural resources, before the renovation of the Bubeneč mill, they had to be sent to Florence to be transformed into *pietre dure* works of art.[41] With the installation of the new workshops in such close proximity to Prague Castle, it rendered this exchange

unnecessary. Prague quickly became a center in its own right for an art form previously exclusive to the Medici. It's a testament to the warm relationship between Francesco I and Rudolf II that this was not just permitted, but actively encouraged. Gargiolli's letter dated July 27 1587 to Francesco I informs the Grand Duke of the emperor's happiness on receipt of stone-cutting and polishing devices sent from Florence.[42] The arrival of Cosimo Castrucci in 1596 and his son Giovanni in 1598 ushered in Prague's distinct and recognizable Rudolfine style of *pietre dure*. Not only the Castrucci scenes, but also the virtuoso hard-stone carving by Ottavio Miseroni (and his workshop) and the cut-glass masterworks by Caspar Lehmann are indebted to Bubeneč mill facilities.

Therefore, it probably is not entirely coincidental that a grotto reminiscent of Francesco I's Pratolino was placed in the same complex as the mill and workshop that owed so much of its technology to Medicean Florence; to the contrary, a common debt to Florentine forms would thematically unite the Prague mill-grotto complex.

Finally, a consideration of the Prague grotto dome's different appearance from the Grotto of Cupid raises the tantalizing possibility that another artist from Rudolf II's court, Hans Vredeman de Vries, may have had a hand in the final appearance of its dome. Muchka has identified an architectural drawing by Hans Vredeman de Vries that anticipates the Bubeneč grotto's dome, lantern and central fountain[43] (Fig. 7). This image was executed long before his arrival at the Prague court though; it originally was the first plate in a series of twenty engravings by Hieronymous Cock, published without a title page around 1560.[44] The perfect alignment of the Bubeneč grotto's interior stonework certainly conforms with the precision of lines that Muchka observed to be the hallmark of Vredeman de Vries's architectural drawings[45] (Fig. 8).

As mentioned in the beginning of this study, these same regular rows of masonry work on the inside of the dome have drawn frequent comparisons to antique mausoleums rather than to any other Renaissance grotto,[46] but unlike the ancient tombs' masonry, the Bubeneč grotto's stonework was only a thin, trompe-l'oeil surface covering. In its present state,[47] it is possible to see of just how thin a layer the interior stone-work consists (Fig. 9). This regular, classicizing masonry that is so characteristic of Vredeman de Vries's architecture is only a surface covering, used in the same way that the tufa-stalactite texture was applied on the interior of Pratolino's Grotto of Cupid and indeed throughout all of Buontalenti's grottoes in and around Florence. Much has been made by historians of the lack of stalactites, shells, or other typical grotto materials at Bubeneč; the historian Jarmila Krčálová even calls the Rudolf II's grotto "diametrically opposed" to other Renaissance grottoes.[48]

Perhaps the stalactite coverings applied to other European grottoes (that were themselves man-made constructions made to imitate the look of a cave) were deemed redundant at Pratolino; in a sense, it was a more authentic man-made cave, since it was excavated from a pre-existing hillside. Instead, cut stonework *all'antica* was applied that evoked the pre-Christian, Roman aspects of the Rudolfine mythos.[49] Although Buontalenti was recog-nized by Rudolf II as a master architect and may have been the ideator of the grotto and other projects in Prague, the differing treatment of the Bubeneč grotto's interior distinguishes it as a unique product of the Rudolfine court and its artists.

If one can look past the superficial differences between the Grotto of Cupid's stalactite-covered interior and the trompe-l'oeil masonry inside the Bubeneč grotto, we are left with two very similar constructions. Although both have survived through the present day, perspectives and plans of either grotto spanning the sixteenth through the

eighteenth centuries testify to an even closer original resemblance. The distinguishing features that the Bubeneč grotto and the Grotto of Cupid share- their circular form, the natural light from their lanterns, their mound-like shapes, and proximity to the Earth- have both been imbued by scholars with an

8. Prague, Bubeneč Grotto, interior stonework and entrance

9. Prague, Bubeneč Grotto, ruined niche showing the thin surface layer of stonework

alchemical symbolism that is only reinforced when the personalities of their patrons are considered. Both Francesco I and Rudolf II engaged in the theoretical and practical application of alchemical science; the Bubeneč site would have afforded Rudolf II solitary contemplation as well as the opportunity to observe the adjacent stone- and glass-cutting workshop in action. The immense technological debt of this workshop to Medicean Florence only underlines the possibility that the *genius loci* uniting the site could well have echoed a Florentine grotto. Guido Carrai introduced the idea that Bernardo Buontalenti's direct influence stretched as far as Prague Castle, but he failed to take into account the existence of a grotto virtual identical to one at Pratolino, built next to a workshop filled with imported Florentine technology. The present analysis of the Bubeneč grotto bolsters Carrai's hypothesis that Giovanni Gargiolli was not just a Florentine architect active at Rudolf II's court, but also an intermediary to Francesco I de' Medici and Buontalenti.

The identification of one Florentine villa in particular as a model for the Prague grotto may seem trivial; however, it is my opinion that doing so makes it possible to decipher a unifying Medicean influence at the Prague site, both in form and function, as well as to speak

to an under-recognized survival of Francesco I's distinctive Mannerism. For historians of Rudolphine Prague, the close similarities between Rudolf II's grotto and Pratolino's Grotto of Cupid should underline the exceptionally close ties between Francesco I de' Medici and Rudolf II, two rulers similar in personality and patronage and quintessential to the flowering of late-Renaissance culture.

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1. Sylva Dobalová, Quellen und neue Überlegungen zur Kaisermühle, ihrer Grotte und dem nicht ausgeführten Schloss, *Studia Rudolphina* 9 (2009), pp. 53–68.

2. Dobalová's identification of Caprarola as a potential influencing factor is intriguing in the larger context of Rudolphine patronage. Rudolph's favorite painter Bartholomeus Spranger arrived in Prague after having already worked on the villa of Cardinal Farnese at Caprarola. See Eliška Fučíková, Prague Castle under Rudolf II, His Predecessors and Successors, in *Rudolf II and Prague,* pp. 2–71.

3. This study uses the Grotto of Cupid by Buontalenti as its primary model in part because of the permanent nature of the structure; however, similar mound-shaped grottoes with a lantern over the cupola appeared in stage sets also designed by Buontalenti in late-sixteenth century Florence. The wedding festivities for Ferdinando de' Medici and Christina of Lorraine in 1589 featured twin circular grottoes with a central opening in the second *intermedio* of "La Pelegrina;" the Muses occupied the grotto on the right-hand side of the stage while the daughters of Pierus occupied the one on the left. When the Pierides lost their musical contest, they were "transformed" into birds, animated automata that could hop and peck, of the kind Buontalenti had already manufactured for Pratolino. Another mound-shaped grotto with a lantern cupola was used in another 1589 Florentine *intermedio* by Epifanio d'Alfiano and engraved in 1592. See Stella Mary Newton, Stage Design for Renaissance Theatre, *Early Music* 5 (1977), pp. 12–18. Another "artificial hill" played a part in the courtly pageantry surrounding the wedding of Charles of Styria to Maria of Bavaria in 1571, which were designed by Giuseppe Arcimboldo. Rudolf II not only witnessed the proceedings in Vienna, he even played the role of the Sun in an allegorical tableau, carrying Spanish gold as his emblem. Here we have an instance in which he has first-hand exposure to an architectural and theatrical type also used by Buontalenti in Florence. See Peter Marshall, *The Magic Circle of Rudolf II: Alchemy and Astrology in Renaissance Prague* (New York, 2006), p. 31.

4. *Francesco I de Medici views the model of his villa* (from the cycle Seven deeds of Francesco I de Medici), gold relief on amethyst background, 1585. Medici workshop from a wax model by Giambologna, 7 x 16,2 cm, Palazzo Pitti, Museo degli Argenti, Florence.

5. Luigi Zangheri, *Pratolino: il giardino delle meraviglie*, I (Florence, 1979), pp. 145–146.

6. Zangheri attributes the actual appearance more or less to Foggini's renovation, however various steps were taken to restore the Giambolognian appearance Alessandro Galilei in 1729, Giovan Battista Ruggieri in 1747 and 1753, Giuseppe Cacialli, Rinaldo Barbetti in 1877, and finally Guido Mannini in 1932–33. See idem, pp. 146–147.

7. Ulisses Aldrovandi's description of the Appennine includes notice that its walls were frescoed by Iacopo Ligozzi, but nothing else is known about the ceiling's decorations – see ibidem.

8. A hypothetical cross-section of Appennino with a grotto of Thetis was published in Costanza Riva, *Pratolino: il sogno alchemico di Francesco I de' Medici: miti, simboli, e allegorie* (Livorno, 2013).

9. The Grotto of Cupid at Pratolino appears ovoid in Guerra's plan, whereas in Schickhardt's it is more circular; it is known that Rudolph's Grotto in Prague is perfectly circular, but hesitation is necessary before assigning this appellation to the Pratolino Grotto in the absence of measurements confirming its proportions.

10. The best example of this type is what is commonly called the Treasury of Atreus near Mycenae. It is however of a type that can be seen more often in drawing and engravings than in surviving examples. The type- a mound-like grotto with a lantern- appears intermittently in illustrations theatrical scenery of court masques mentioned above (see note 3), and a structure seen in Pieter Brueghel the Elder's 1558 engraving *Lust*, part of the series of the seven deadly sins, presents a structure that is interesting not only for its architectural similarities but also for its thematic ties to the later Grotto of Cupid. Another tantalizing possibility that remains to be explored at any length is the possible influence of Etrurian forms upon this kind of grotto architecture in Florence and beyond throughout the sixteenth century. Katherine Coty's thesis submitted in 2013 to the University of Washington, *A Dream of Etruria: The Sacro Bosco of Bomarzo and the Alternate Antiquity of Alto Lazio* articulates at length the influence that the Etruscan heritage held for Cinquecento patrons and artists in Lazio, and to a lesser extent, in Tuscany. Particularly relevant to the form of the Grotto of

Cupid at Pratolino is a vaulted, circular tomb in Cortona that Giorgio Vasari described and sketched in a correspondence to Vincenzo Borghini; see Gilda Bartolini and Piera Bocci Pacini, The Importance of Etruscan Antiquity in the Tuscan Renaissance, in: Jane Fejfer, Tobias Fischer-Hansen and Annette Rathje (eds.), *The Rediscovery of Antiquity: The Role of the Artist* (Copenhagen, 2003), pp. 449–480 (458). Coty's observation that the Etruscans and their murky past served as muses to the more arcane, enigmatic, and occulted articulations of antiquity in Renaissance art appears at first blush to be a perfect fit with not only Bomarzo, the subject of her thesis, but the Grotto of Cupid and other features at Pratolino as well (Coty 2013, p. 47).

11. Ivan Muchka and others have already written authoritatively and extensively about the impact of Italian architects and artists' upon Bohemian architecture; see for example Jarmila Krčálová, *La Toscana e l'architettura di Rodolfo II: Giovanni Gargiolli a Praga* (Firenze, 1983); Ivan P. Muchka, *Architecture of the Renaissance* (Prague, 2001). This is certainly not the place to detail the subject. Yet, the Prague grotto belongs to this history and comes at the end of a century that saw an influx of Italian builders, bricklayers, merchants, and bankers settling in Prague's Lesser Town (Malá Strana). To these bearers of the new style belongs the credit for many of the masterpieces of the region's Renaissance architecture. Rudolph's father and grandfather had already built conspicuously in the new style in Prague – the "Belvedere" of Queen Anne and the Ball Game Hall in the Royal Garden are well-known examples – and Rudolf II continued his dynasty's patronage of Italianate architectural projects - specifically, the lost portal of the Mathematics Tower at Prague castle, the segmented pediment of the portal at St. Adalbart's Chapel, and the split triangular pediment of Rudolph's Castra Doloris (see Ivan P. Muchka, Architectural Styles in the Reign of Rudolf II: Italian and Hispanic Influences, in *Rudolf II, Prague, and the World*, pp. 90–95).

12. Expressed most visibly in the adoption of the rustic order and sgraffito decoration for court and city buildings alike.

13. Krčálová (note 11), pp. 1030, 1051.

14. Guido Carrai, I Fiorentini al castello: il progetto di Bernardo Buontalenti e Giovanni Gargiolli per la nuova galleria di Rodolfo II, *Umění* 51 (2003), pp. 370–384 (383).

15. Idem, p. 371.

16. Fučíková (note 2), pp. 2, 29, 30.

17. "Arte et industria sua novam quondam formam instrumentorum, quorum in molendinis ac omnis generis aedificis cum aqua usus esse possit- quaeque minimo lobore et sumptu moveantur […] ad tollendae sursum aquae seu quarucumque fabricarum et aedificorum usum pertinentibus." After Carrai (note 14), p. 378.

18. Among his reports are intentions to make designs for Prague Castle. Idem, p. 371.

19. Idem, p. 373; Archivio di Stato di Firenze (hereafter ASF), MP 788, 199.

20. Sylva Dobalová, Der rudolphinische Garten des Schlosses in Brandeis an der Elbe, *Studia Rudolphina* 10 (2010), pp. 48-67.

21. Brocco is also generally recognized as the artist behind the oval basins seen under the Rudolphine Balustrade at Brandýs nad Labem; see Ivan Muchka, Rodolphe II bâtisseur, in: Eliška Fučíková, Beket Bukovinská and Ivan Muchka, *Rodolphe II: Monarque et Mécène* (Paris, 1990), pp. 189, 192, 209.

22. Carrai (note 14), p. 373; ASF MP 787.

23. Krčálová (note 11), p. 1031; Carrai (note 14), p. 371. Evans uses "substantial" – see Robert J. W. Evans, *Rudolf II and his World* (Oxford, 1973), p. 57.

24. Krčálová (note 11), p. 1031.

25. Riva (note 8), p. 31.

26. Marshall has already observed a close relationship exists between the Mannerist styles by the Florentine and Prague courts; their styles did not embrace anti-Classical or anti-Natural themes as other European courts did. Instead, nature remained the supreme source of symbolism, marvels, secrets, and mysteries. Marshall (note 3), p. 73.

27. Riva (note 8), p. 30.

28. Pablo Jiménez Díaz, Spain, Prague, and the Habsburg Ideology: Some Aspects of the Architecture of Rudolf II, in: *Rudolf II, Prague, and the World*, pp. 11–15 (12).

29. Carrai brings attention to plans for this garden and its water games in a March 23 1604 report by Giovanni Maria Filippi – see Carrai (note 14), p. 377.

30. Fučíková (note 2), p. 61.

31. Antonín Švejda, Stromovka, Rudolf's Water Tunnel, in *Rudolfine Prague 1576–1612: A Guidebook* (Prague, 2006), pp. 132–133.

32. Krčálová (note 11), p. 1042.

33. Muchka (note 21), pp. 217–218; Dobalová (note 1) did not find any archive material speaking about a marmor, stone, or metal water basin, and she suggests that the ground was bathed in water and that there was some kind of water mechanism in the middle. She finds a similar solution in grottoes in Caprarola and in Palazzo Pitti. In that case, it would not be possible to enter the grotto, but it served only for a view from the outside entrance corridor.

34. Other names that historians mention are: *Brunnen*; *wasserbrunnen oder Bath*; *wasserkunst zur krota* (in the 18th century *Badegrotte*), see Dobalová (note 1), pp. 57, 58, 61.

35. Dobalová also brings attention to a mechanism with a handle installed on the bank of the river – see ibidem, p. 60.

36. Díaz (note 28), p. 12.

37. Fučíková (note 2), p. 19.

38. Marshall (note 3), p. 186.

39. Lee Hendrix, Natural History Illustration at the Court of Rudolf II, in *Rudolf II, Prague, and the World*, p. 169.

40. Strong relates this identification as the best points of reference for his discussion of the Henrician era's long-term objectives in England – see Roy Strong, *Henry Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance* (London, 1986), p. 87.

41. This was an art form that used stones precisely selected for their color tone and cut exactly to create seamless, flat pictorial scenes. See Fučíková (note 2), p. 25.

42. Carrai (note 14), p. 373; ASF MP 788, 199. However, it's been pointed out that the workshop for finishing a gem's cutting and transformation into a work of art was located in Prague Castle; it would be a point of further research to ascertain whether this was a second workshop or whether the Bubeneč site was only a preliminary workshop.

43. It should be remembered however, as per Dobalová's observation, that we do not know whether the present-day lantern of the Prague grotto was its original design, or whether it was left open after the oculus of the Pantheon (note 1), p. 61.

44. Simon Jervis, *Printed Furniture Designs before 1650* (London, 1974), pp. 28–29. In 1601, it was included in Vredeman de Vries's *Variae architecturae formae,* and Karel van Mander described the series as 'Ovalen, Perspecten, met de Puncten in't midden, voor de Inleggers' in the 1604 first edition of the *Het Schildebock* – see Muchka (note 11), p. 93.

45. Muchka (note 11).

46. Krčálová (note 11), p. 1042; Carrai (note 14), p. 382; Zangheri (note 5), p. 146.

47. As of May 2014, when I had the opportunity to visit the grotto with Dr. Muchka during my fellowship at the Studia Rudolphina.

48. Krčálová (note 11), pp. 1042–1043.

49. See Ladislav Daniel, The Myth of the Prince between Rome and Prague around 1600, in *Rudolf II, Prague, and the World*, pp. 49–56.

Die drei „Hofburgen" zur Zeit König Ferdinands I.: Vergleiche und Fragen

Ivan Muchka

Ein Vergleich der drei wichtigsten mitteleuropäischen Residenzen der Habsburger – in alphabetischer Reihenfolge Innsbruck, Prag und Wien –, die Suche nach ihrem *common denominator*, mag recht vernünftig erscheinen, besonders wenn man die Tatsache bedenkt, dass Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts an ihrem Umbau der gleiche Architekt (Niccolò Paccassi) beteiligt war und ihre Ausstattung den gleichen inhaltlichen Vorgaben unterlag (Monumentalskulptur der Taten des Herkules im Eingangsbereich in Wien und Prag, Gemäldegalerien der Dynastie usw.).[1]

Für das 16. Jahrhundert stößt ein solcher Vergleich jedoch auf gänzlich andere Probleme und man gelangt nur sehr schwer zu allgemeineren Schlussfolgerungen. Wir arbeiten hier zwar ebenfalls mit den gleichen Architektennamen, aber über diese Personen ist deutlich weniger bekannt. Daher sollten die folgenden Zeilen eher als methodische Anmerkungen denn als Beitrag im faktographischen Sinne des Wortes verstanden werden. Der Titel verspricht leider mehr, als der Inhalt tatsächlich enthalten kann. Es zeigt sich, dass das Maß der modernen wissenschaftlichen Erkenntnis über diese Zeit bisher sehr gering ist. Hier seien nur zwei Beispiele genannt: die Musikempore im Veitsdom, die einen kongenialen Akt im Rahmen der Errichtung der Orgel – des nach Ansicht des Herrschers „größte[n] und schönste[n] Instrument[s] der Christenheit" – darstellen, zugleich aber eine Architektur „im guten kirchischen Stil" anbieten sollte;[2] oder das

Abbreviations

AKL = SAUR: Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon. Die bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker (Munich and Leipzig, 1992–)

DA = The Dictionary of Art, Jane Turner (ed.) (London and New York, 1996), 34 Vols.

TNH = The New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish Etching, Engravings and Woodcuts, Ger Luijten et al. (eds.) (Rotterdam, 1993–)

Kaufmann = Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *The School of Prague: Painting at the Court of Rudolf II* (Chicago and London, 1988)

Thieme – Becker = Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker (eds.), *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig 1907–1950), 37 Vols.

TIB = *The Illustrated Bartsch*, Walter L. Strauss (founding editor), John T. Spike (ed.) (New York, 1978–)

JKSAK = Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses

JKSW = Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien

JKMW = Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien

Prag um 1600 = Kunst und Kultur am Hofe Rudolfs II., exh. cat. Essen and Vienna (Freren, 1988)

Prag um 1600: Beiträge = Beiträge zur Kunst und Kultur am Hofe Rudolfs II. (Freren, 1988)

Rudolf II and Prague = Rudolf II and Prague: The Court and the City, exh. cat, Eliška Fučíková et al. (eds.) (Prague, London and Milan, 1997)

Rudolf II. und Prag = Rudolf II. und Prag: Kaiserlicher Hof und Residenzstadt als kulturelles und geistiges Zentrum Mitteleuropas, exh. cat., Eliška Fučíková et al. (eds.) (Prague, London and Milan, 1997)

Rudolf II. a Praha: Katalog = Rudolf II. a Praha: Císařský dvůr a rezidenční město jako kulturní a duchovní centrum střední Evropy, exh. cat., Eliška Fučíková et al. (eds.) (Prague, London and Milan, 1997)

Rudolf II, Prague and the World = Rudolf II, Prague and the World: Papers from the International Conference, Prague, 2–4 September 1997, Lubomír Konečný, Beket Bukovinská and Ivan Muchka (eds.) (Prague, 1998)

Bauer–Haupt = Das Kunstkammerinventar Kaiser Rudolfs II. 1607–1611, Rotraud Bauer and Herbert Haupt, *JKSW* LXXII (1976)

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